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WARNER AND THE VOYAGERS

William Warner's historical poem, *Albions England*, was issued piece-meal. The first edition, containing four books, appeared in 1586, the second, six books, in 1589, the third, nine books, in 1592, and the fourth, twelve books, in 1596. Before the last two editions, in 1589, Richard Hakluyt had published his epoch-making work, *Principall Navigations*,¹ and Warner, on the alert for materials of English history, adapted extracts from it to his purpose. The connection he established with the foregoing books is somewhat tenuous. It is Sir John Mandeville, who, having jousted in disguise to win Eleanor's love, sets forth on a quest.

Now let us say the lands, the seas,
The people, and their lore,
This knight did see: whom, touching which,
Not storie shall we more:
But to our English voyages,
Euen in our times, shall frame
Our Muse: and what you heare of theirs,
Of his the like do ame,
For countries, not for customes (then,
And now, not still the same).
Yeat interlace we shall, among,
The love of her and him.²

The chapters from lxii through lxxi then deal alternately with Mandeville's love and the English voyagers. For facts concerning

¹ *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land . . . at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres.* London. 1589. Unless otherwise specified, references throughout will be to the Hakluyt Society reprint, 12 volumes published at Glasgow, 1903-4.

² Chap. LXII, p. 634. Pages are in Chalmers *English Poets*, Vol. IV. *Albions England* was printed originally as fourteen-syllable verse, but Chalmers divided the lines and printed them in four- or six-line stanzas.

the latter, our poet borrowed extensively from *Principall Navigations*. The purpose of this study will be to indicate the nature of that borrowing, largely by use of parallel passages, which will require a minimum of comment.

Beginning in chapter lxiii, Warner first praises Cabot, whose "selfe prooffe brake the ise," and then passes to his successors.

By his [Cabot's] *instructions* and their costs
Three ships were rigged out,
Hugh Willoughby the admyrall,
A knight both wise and stoute.¹

Cabot's "Ordinances, *instructions* and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay" are given in Hakluyt just before Willoughby's account.² His share in the voyage is again mentioned at the beginning of the account itself: "The voiage intended for the discoverie of Cathay and divers other regions . . . set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota."³

The "three ships" are named on the same and following two pages,⁴ while the admiral has been previously alluded to as *Sir Hugh Willoughby knight*.⁵ He is again referred to by title on page 239: "Enterprized by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight"; and in the same line, "performed by Richard Chancellor, pilot major of the voyage." Warner says:

To Chancellor, grand pilot for
 That voyage.⁶

W

Now sayle they for *the North-east parts*,
Cathaya's shores to finde:
 Incounter'd with huge seas of ise,
 With stormy gusts and winde.
Shotland, Aegeland, Halgeland, th' isles
Of Roste, and Lofoot past.⁹

H

Letters . . . sent to the kings
 . . . inhabiting *the North-east partes*
 of the worlde toward the mighty
 Empire of *Cathay*.⁷

We could not fetch *Shotland*.⁸
 The land was all full of little Islands
 . . . which were called . . .
Aegeland and *Halgeland*. . . . In
 which place were . . . *the Isles of*
Rost . . . the land being Islands
 were called *Lewfoot* or *Lofoot*.¹⁰

¹ P. 634.² P.N., II, 195-205.³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-14. "3 ships furnished for the discoverie," is likewise designated in the margin, p. 240.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.⁷ P.N., II, 209.⁹ P. 634.⁶ P. 634.⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.¹⁰ P.N., II, 219.

The details of ice and gusts remain unmentioned by Hakluyt, but are quite natural insertions considering the regions in which the voyage took place. Moreover, *winde* rhymes with *finde*.

W

Tempestiously *Arzina's rhode*
Received *sir Hugh* at last.
Theare he and *all of two his ships*
Attempting bootles shifts,
Weare in that climate frozen dead
Shut up with isie driftes.¹

H

The river or haven wherein *Sir*
Hugh Willoughbie with the company
of his two ships perished for cold
is called *Arzina* in Lapland.²

Warner's method of condensing is illustrated by his last three lines, which were doubtless suggested by this passage:

Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent and also very evill weather, as frost, snow, and haile as though it had beene the deepe of winter we thought best to winter there. Wherefore, we sent out three men Southsouthwest to search if they could find people, who went three days journey, but could find none: after that we sent other three Westward foure daies journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes journey, who in like sorte returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation.³

W

Then *Chancelor his onely ship*
Remayning of that fleete,
For *Fynmarke* at the *Wardhouse*
sayles
With his consorts to meete.⁴

H

Nowe *Richard Chancelor with his*
shippe and company being thus left
alone . . . shapeth his course for
Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect
and abide the arrivall of the rest
of the shippes.⁵

Willoughby previously mentions "the *wardhouse*, which is the strongest holde in *Finmarke*."⁶

The account of Chancelor has no exact parallel to the next line: "There day it is *two months* of length." It merely says: "Hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightness of the Sunne."⁷

But Jenkinson, traveling in those same regions, gives the exact time limit: "Here the Sunne continueth in sight above the horizon almost *2 months* together, day and night."⁸

¹ P. 634.² *Ibid.*, p. 223.³ P.N., II, 247.⁴ P.N., II, 224.⁵ P. 634.⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 248.⁸ 1589 ed., p. 334. For some reason this sentence was omitted from the 1598-1600 edition. Cf. 1904 ed. P.N., II, 415.

It may have been his own marginal notation which referred Warner to the other passage. It is clear, at any rate, that he did consult the other passage since his next lines are taken from the same page:

W

And *Mal-strand's poole* it makes
Such *hidious rore*; devouring floods,
That *tenne miles' distance shakes*.¹

H

Note that there is between the said
Rost Islands and Lofoot a whirle
poole called *Malestrand* which . . .
maketh such a terrible noise that it
shaketh the rings in the doors . . .
tenne miles off.²

Warner is here either remembering details he had previously read, or he is consulting several accounts of the same regions before he writes.

W

He for *the course preposed* did
His ventrous sayles direct.³

H

Hee determined at length to pro-
ceede alone in *the purposed voyage*.⁴

The preceding lines:

Wheare frustrate of his friends in quest,
With courage not deject,

were doubtless suggested by, "having . . . looked in vaine for their comming," and a relation on the same page (247) of the courageous manner in which Chancellor met his dangers.

Warner then inserts some apparently irrelevant lines:

King Arthur, Malgo, Edgar, once
To have subdued are saide,
Orkney, Gotland, Island, and
Those former in that traide:
Gronland, Wireland, Curland, and
Colde *Scrikfyn* them obayde.⁵

The connection in the poet's mind was probably through *Scrikfyn*, another name for Lapland. The country in which Willoughby died suggested to him the conquests of Arthur, Malgo, and Edgar, with which Hakluyt began the Second Part of his *Principall Navigations*.⁶

¹ P. 634.

² P.N., II, 415.

³ P. 634.

⁴ P.N., II, 247.

⁵ P. 634.

⁶ In the edition of 1598-1600, of which the 1903-4 edition is a reprint, Hakluyt changed the order, putting the voyages to the north and northeast first.

In that place¹ are mentioned all the acquisitions in Warner's list, all of them except Orkney being mentioned in one sentence. It is significant that when Warner resumes his narrative, he alludes at once to Laplanders.

W

H

Now Chancelor, ariving mong'st

The Laplanders, at last,
They seeing uncouth men and shippes,
Weare wondringly agaste,
 (For eare that day was heard no
 shippe
 That churlish pole had past).²

. . . but *they being amazed with
 the strange greatnesse of his shippe*
 (for in those partes before that time
 they had never seene the like).³

The Lapland bay wheare he arived
 Now cald *Saint Nicholas bay,*
 Though Russian, *fifteene hundreth*
 miles
 From Mosco is away.⁴

They arrive in the *Bay of St.
 Nicholas.*⁵
 . . . (for they had traveled very
 neere *fifteene hundred miles.*⁶

Warner's next line is, "Theare wintred he at Newnox." Newnox is not mentioned in the account of Chancelor, but the fact of his having stopped there is recorded by Hakluyt in the later voyage of Southam and Sparke, who traveled in the same country: "At this towne Newnox Richard Chancellor in his first voyage with his company ashipboard were relieved."⁷

Here then is another proof of Warner's having correlated two versions of the same story.

W

H

Safe-conduct being sent,
 Thence *to their king* on swift-drawne
 sleads
 Through frozen ways he went.⁸

They at last resolved to
conduct them by land to the presence
of their king. . . . He had the
 use of certaine *sleds* the
 people almost not knowing any other
 manner of carriage, the cause whereof
 is the *exceeding hardness of the ground*
congealed in the winter time by the
 force of the cold.⁹

¹ I, 6.⁴ P. 635.⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 74, marg. note.² P. 635.⁵ *P.N.*, II, 248, marg. note.⁸ P. 635.³ *P.N.*, II, 248.⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.⁹ *P.N.*, II, 250-51.

With the lines,

He found them . . . much
In *pompe* to overflow,¹

compare, "The meate is then distributed to the ghests with the like *pompe* and ceremonies."² And Warner's next lines,

His intertainment therefore was
As stately as might be,³

summarize an elaborate description of three pages in Hakluyt.⁴

W

In sundrie roomes weare *hundreds*
seene
In gold and tissue clad:
A *maiestie*, Augustus-like,
Their king *enthroned* had.⁵

Full well could Chancellor demeane
Himselfe in every thing.⁷

H

There sate a very honorable com-
panie of Courtiers, to the number of
one *hundred*, all *apparelled in cloth*
of golde . . . our men began to
wonder at the *Majestie* of the
Emperor: his seate was aloft in a
very royall *throne*.⁶

But notwithstanding Master
Chancellor being therewithall nothing
dismaied saluted and did his duty to
the Emperor after the maner of
England.⁸

English pride in the ability of their emissaries to demean themselves properly is a constant note in the voyagers.

The following stanza illustrates Warner's ability to summarize, though he does it in somewhat pedestrian verse:

Let passe how in Basilius' court
Most royally he fead:
Suffise it that our agent of
His arrant thither spead:
That is, that ours might trade with them,
Of which large leave is read.⁹

The "feeding royally" is treated at length in Hakluyt, pages 256-57, and the name *Basilius* is mentioned on page 257. Chan-

¹ P. 635.

⁴ P.N., II, 255-58.

⁷ P. 635.

² P.N., II, 257.

⁵ P. 635.

⁸ P.N., II, 255-56.

³ P. 635.

⁶ P.N., II, 255.

⁹ P. 635.

celor's success in his mission is attested by the printing¹ of the "Duke of Moscovie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixth, by the hands of Richard Chancelour."

W

*A vaste and spacious empie is
Moscovie, in the same
Bee rivers Tanais, Volga, and
Boristhenes of fame.*²

With *yearely hallowed Mosca*, which
The primate having blest,
(Whom to attend *the clargie, lords,*
And king himself be prest)
He *thinks himselfe an happie man*
May touch the *yse-hewne pit*,
But him in Heaven already whom
The Primat sprinks with it.⁴

H

*Moscovie is a very large and
spacious Countrey. . . . And as
for the rivers the greatest is
that which the Russes in their own
tongue call Volga. . . . Next unto
it in fame is Tanais and the
third Boristhenes.*³

Every yeare upon the 12 day they
use to *blesse or sanctifie the river
Moscu. . . . First they make a
square hole in the ice. . . . After the
images follow certaine priests
after them the Metropolitane
and after the Metropolitan came the
Emperor and after his Majes-
tie all his noblemen orderly. . . .
After this the priests began to sing,
to blesse and to sense, and did their
service, and so by that time that they
had done the water was holy, which
being sanctified, the Metropolitan
tooke a little thereof in his hands,
and cast it on the Emperor, likewise
upon certaine of the Dukes
that Muscovite which hath no part
of that water *thinks himself un-
happy.*⁵*

This story of the hallowing of the River Moscow does not follow in Hakluyt the mention of the other rivers. Tanais, Volga, and Boristhenes are referred to in the Chancelor narrative, whereas Moscow and its rites are described in "Osep Napea's Return to Russia." This represents, in the edition Warner used, a leap of 56 pages.⁶

¹ P.N., II, 271-72.

³ P.N., II, 251-52.

² Chap. lxxv, p. 636.

⁴ P. 636.

⁵ P.N., II, 432-33.

⁶ Edition of 1589. The other rivers are mentioned, p. 285, Moscow, p. 341.

Warner does not miss that detail:

And sport with their face-painted wives,
Hild thear a comely thing.¹

W

H

In customes of *the Greeke church*,
much
Corrupted, are they lead:
Monkes, friers, and priests swarme
theare, not more
Than in their portesse reade.²

They maintaine the opinions of
the Greeke Church; . . . for the
Friers and the *Monkes* do at the
least possesse the third part of the
livings throughout the whole Mus-
covite Empire.³

Grosse worshippers of *images*,
Which *in their houses* are.⁴

In their private houses they have
images for their household saints.⁵

Though the pope
Theare stickell not. . . .⁶

Neither have they to doe with the
Pope of Rome.⁷

Besides these Christians (for unto
Themselves they arrogate
The soundest Christianitie)
Are subject to their state
Idolators that doe adore
Even *divels*, or did of late.⁸

They hold opinion that we are
but halfe Christians, and themselves
only to be the true and perfect
church. . . . There is a certaine
part of Muscovie . . . wherein
those Muscovites that dwell are very
great *idolaters*.⁹

The narrator then goes on to tell how these "idolaters" wor-
shipped the *aurea vetula*, and concludes: "I know not by what
illusions of the *devill*, or *idole*, he is againe restored to life."

In his next lines Warner passes from Chancellor to Stephen
Burrough:

Not of the Samoeds' rude wrought gods,
Or blood-rites will we tarry.¹⁰

The corresponding passage in Hakluyt, representing a difference
of 27 pages,¹¹ is this: "Hee brought mee to a heap of the Samoeds
idols . . . the eyes and mouths of sundrie of them were bloodie."¹²

¹ P. 636.

² P.N., II, 265, 267.

³ P.N., II, 265.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ P. 636.

⁶ P. 636.

⁷ P.N., II, 346. This sentence occurs in some notes written by Richard Johnson,
who was "servant to Master Richard Chancelour."

⁸ P. 636.

⁹ P.N., II, 268-69.

¹⁰ P. 636.

¹¹ In 1589 ed. Chancellor passage, p. 291; Burrough, p. 318.

¹² P.N., II, 338.

The poet makes still another leap, of seventeen pages,¹ in his next detail, and borrows this time from Jenkinson:

W

Or of the *stone* neere unto which
Did *Willoughby* miscarry,
To which bring saylers whit-
meats least
Their ships should tempests harrie.²

H

At this cape lie'h a great *stone*, to
the which the barkes that passed
thereby were wont to make offerings
of butter, meale and other victuals,
thinking that, unlesse they did so,
their barkes or vessels should there
perish. . . . Note that the sixt
day we passed by the place where
Sir Hugh *Willoughbie* with all his
company perished.³

Having introduced the foregoing facts from two quite separate narratives, Warner reverts to Chancelor:

W

But that same *female-idoll* call'd
Zelotibab, in part
Of Russia, or the divell himselfe
Acting in it his arte,
Is worth the note. When ought
amissee
Amongst them doth befall,
An instrument of musicke and
A silver toade withall
They lay before the idoll and
Before her prostrate fall.
Then, *musicke sounded*, he *to whom*
The toade shall come is slaine,
(For come it will) when presently
The man revives againe,
And tells the *cause* why hapt the ill,
And *how to pacifie*
The angrie idoll: which is done,
Though some for it should die.⁴

H

They have one famous *idole*
amongst them, which they call the
Golden Old Wife [in margin, *Aurea*
Vetula or *Zelotibaba*]; and they have
a custome that whensoever any
plague or any calamitie doth afflict
the countrey . . . then they go to
consult with their idol . . . they
fall down prostrate before the idoll
. . . and put in the presence of the
same a cymbal. . . . Upon their
cymbal they place a *silver toade*
and *sound the cymbal*, and *to whom*
soever . . . that tode goeth, he is
taken, and by and by *slain*: and
immediately . . . he *is againe re-*
stored to life, and then doth reveale
and deliver the *causes* of the present
calamitie. And by this means know-
ing *how to pacifie the idole*, they are
delivered from imminent danger.⁵

¹ In 1589 ed. Burrough, p. 318; Jenkinson, p. 335.

² P. 636.

³ P. N., II, 417.

⁴ P. 637.

⁵ P. N., II, 269.

The foregoing passage shows Warner following his source more closely than usual; and it affords at the same time a good example of his power of condensing. There is no inconsiderable art displayed in the choice of details, and in the shaving them to fit his lines. If he had owned a finer musical sense, he might have produced real poetry instead of "an accompaniment to stocking-weaving," as Professor Sir Walter Raleigh calls it.¹

Warner continues his description of Muscovy:

The king by monarchia rules,
More absolutely none,
Great duke of Russia late his stile,
*Imperiall now his throne.*²

The change of title is thus explained in Hakluyt:

And this word Otesara his majesties interpreters have of *late dayes* interpreted to be *Emperour*, so that *now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia*. Before his father they were neither called Emperors nor kinges but onely Ruese Velike, that is to say, *great Duke*.³

More attributes of the Emperor are mentioned:

Himselfe, both judge and juror, ends
With equitie debates.⁴

Compare, "His majesty heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giveth sentence and judgment of all matters, and that with expedition."⁵

For the facts contained in the last two passages cited, our poet consulted "A Large Description of Russia," removed by 52 pages.⁶ He was obviously supplementing one account with the other. The next two lines introduce a third source, Jenkinson:⁷

W

Armipotent in warre and hath
Subdewed mightie states.⁸

H

This Emperor is of great power:
for he hath conquered much, as well
of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes
and Swethens as also of the Tartars
and gentiles.⁹

¹ *P.N.*, XII, 97. ² *P.* 637. ³ *P.N.*, II, 438. ⁴ *P.* 637. ⁵ *P.N.*, II, 439.

⁶ 1589 ed., Chancellor, p. 291; Description, p. 343.

⁷ 1589 ed., p. 337.

⁸ *P.* 637.

⁹ *P.N.*, II, 423.

In the next lines he is back to Chancelor once more:

W

An hundred thousand leads he forth
 Against his foes to fight,
 That scorne both *hunger*, thirst, and
cold,
 Wounds, yeelding, feare and flight.
 Of cloth of gold, rich stones, and
plumes,
 His royall tent is pight:
 Nor to his souldiers skants he gifts,
 That well themselves acquite.¹

H

Hee never armeth a lesse number
 against the *enemie* then 300 thousand
 soldiers, 100 thousand whereof he
 carrieth out into the feeld with him.
 . . . They are a kinde of people
 most *sparing in diet*, and most
 patient in extremitie of *cold*, above
 al' others. . . . The coverings of
 his [Emperor's] tent for the most
 part are all of gold adorned with
stones of great price, and with the
 curious workmanship of *plumasiers*.
 . . . If any man behave himselfe
 valiantly in the *felde* . . . he be-
 stoweth upon him, in recompense of
 his service, some farm.²

The following stanza lauds Chancelor for having "obtayned for our merchants, as He wished, everything."

With letters then of credence for
 Himselfe and *marte* for them,
 He puts to sea for England, whome
 The yse about did hem.³

The letters follow the Chancelor account.⁴ Compare, "They [English merchants] shall have their free *Marte* with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure."⁵

In the next stanza Chancelor returns safe to London, and,

Thence, after some aboade, with new
 Consorts, an other fleete,
 And notes digested for their new
 Attempted traffique meete.⁶

The notes referred to are printed on pages 281-89. The "new consorts" are doubtless Gray and Killingworth, mentioned in the next stanza, and linked thus in the notes: "First the Governor, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open

¹ P. 637.

² P. 637.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁴ P.N., II, 258-59.

⁵ P.N., II, 271-72.

⁶ P. 637.

court, committeth and authorizeth Richard *Gray* and George *Killingworth*, jointly and severally to be agents."¹

To proceed with Chancellor:

He did resayle to Russia, there
Received as before:
Cheefe agents *Gray* and *Killingworth*,
*Bearded five foote and more.*²

With the first two lines, compare, "But the next day we were sent for to the Emperor his secretarie, and he bade us welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes."³

For the detail of Killingworth's beard Warner then leaps to a passage some 200 pages farther on,⁴ in a letter of Henry Lane's to William Sanderson:

At their rising the prince . . . tooke into his hand *Master George Killingworth's beard*, which reached over the table. . . . At that time it was not onely thicke, broad and yellow-coloured, but in length *five foot and two inches of assize.*⁵

It is noteworthy that Warner often transplants details of striking nature like this, and that to most of them Hakluyt has called attention in his marginal comments. His finger post in this instance reads: "M. Killingworth's beard of a marveilous length."⁶ And in the case of the transplanted Maelstrom, it was: "Malestrand a strange whirle poole."⁷ These facts lead us to suppose that Warner was reading all accounts of the country he was describing, and that he was materially aided in this process by the crude index of Hakluyt's first edition.

With the next lines,

In all things with the king for ours
Did Chancellor prevaile,
And now our agents knew their homes,
And where to make their saile,⁸

compare,

The Chancelour willed us to bethinke us where we would desire to have a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and

¹ *P.N.*, II, 281.

² *P.* 637.

³ *P.N.*, II, 291-92.

⁴ 1589 ed., Chancellor, p. 299, Lane, p. 497.

⁵ *P.N.*, III, 333.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *P.N.*, II p. 415.

⁸ *P.* 637.

for marchandize to be made preparation for us, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise.¹

Lane's résumé of this portion is, "with houses and diet appointed,"² with no suggestion for the line, "And where to make their saile." It appears, therefore, that Warner has reverted to the longer narrative.

The story of Chancelor's death is taken from "The First Ambassage from Russia":³

W

Returning homewards, neere at
home,
Even on *the Scottish cost*,
Did wracke, and those aboard his
ship
Then *perished* for most.
But that he drown'd, his care to save
The Russie, sent to us
In his conduct, is said the cause:
But drown'd he was, and thus.⁴

H

The Edward Bonaventure traversing the seas arrived within *the Scottish coast* where by outrageous tempests the said ship was driven upon the rockes. . . . The Grand Pilot using all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayd Ambassadour taking the boate of the said shippe to save and preserve the bodie of the saide Ambassador the saide boat was overwhelmed and drowned wherein *perished* not only the grand Pilot but also divers of the maryners.⁵

The first two stanzas of chapter lxvii are general in nature, praising Stephen Burrough:

It is no common labour to
The *river Ob* to sayle,
Howbeit Burrough did therein,
Not dangerlesse, prevaile.
He through the foresayd *frozen seas*
In Lapland did arrive,
And thence, to expedite for Ob,
His labours did revive.⁶

The only two specific references in the above passage are "frozen seas" and "the river Ob," both of which figure margi-

¹ *P.N.*, II, 293-94.

² *Ibid.*, II, 350-62.

³ *P.N.*, II, 351-52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 332.

⁵ *P.* 637.

⁶ Chap. lxvii, p. 638.

nally in Hakluyt. The word "ice" in the margin points to the following:

Within a little more than halfe an houre after we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see; for, for the space of sixe hours, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice. . . . And when we had past from the *danger* of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.¹

These lines account sufficiently for "frozen seas" and "not dangerlesse." The other definite allusion is indicated in the margin by, "the way to the river of Ob."² And a marginal comment on the same page refers to "The Islands of Vaigats," mentioned in Warner's next line:

What he amongst the *Vaigats*, and
The barbarous Samoeds notes.³

The Samoeds are described by Hakluyt on the next page,⁴ and once more attention is drawn in the margin: "Samoeds," and "The maners of the Samoeds."

W

Their *idols*, *deer-skin tents*, how on
Their backs they bare their botes,⁵
. . . .

H

Hee brought me to a heap of the
Samoeds *idols*. . . . They have
no houses but onely *tents*
made of Deers skins, and
when they come on shoare *they*
carry their boates with them *upon*
their backs.⁶

Warner goes on to describe the boats:

In which, but hides, securely they
Doe fish those seas all day.⁷

This is obviously taken from "their boats are made of Deers skins."⁸

But the detail of the Samoeds' fishing all day is not given in this account, and only incidentally referred to in other accounts of these

¹ *P.N.*, II, 335.

⁴ *P.N.*, II, 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁵ *P.* 638.

⁷ *P.* 638.

³ *P.* 638.

⁶ *P.N.*, II, 338-39.

⁸ *P.N.*, II, 339.

barbarians. For instance, Giles Fletcher thus describes their means of livelihood: "They live by hunting, and trading with their furies,"¹ with no suggestion of fishing. But on the next page he remarks: "There is a rocke . . . where the Obdorian Samoites use much to resort by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing."²

Richard Johnson's Notes,³ which Warner unquestionably made use of a little later, has this: "3 Item, beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish."⁴

In view of the casualness with which voyagers refer to this aspect of the Samoeds' life, it may be that Warner used the detail from elsewhere, in fusion or confusion. For instance, it is remarked of islands adjoining Wardhouse: "The inhabitants of those three Islands live onely by fishing."⁵

Now Wardhouse was invariably the stopping place of traders en route to Vaigats; and consequently the two are often referred to in the same account. Lifting the detail from this passage is made more likely by the fact that it occurs on the same page⁶ as the Maelstrom description, which we know he read.

It may seem that I have raised a great cloud of dust about a trivial matter. But my aim has been to illustrate Warner's typical methods. And here he has done one of two things: he has either transplanted a detail from another context treating of substantially the same regions; or he has inserted that detail because he thought it fitted, as he has done several times before.

The poet continues his description of the Vaigats:

And how on deere they ride and all
On sleds by deere convey.⁷

Compare with this: "for their cariages they have no other beasts to serve them, but Deere only."⁸ And also, in Richard Johnson's Notes: "And have all their cariages with deere for they have no horses."⁹ The sleds have been previously mentioned: "I saw . . . the sleds that they ride in."¹⁰ The actual conjunction of the deer and

¹ *P.N.*, III, 402.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁷ *P.* 638.

² *P.N.*, III, 402-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

⁸ *P.N.*, II, 339.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 480-84.

⁶ 1589 ed., p. 334.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

sleds is made by Giles Fletcher: "Their travaile to and fro is upon sleddes drawn by the Olen Deere."¹

W

*Do eate their dead, to feast their friends
Their children sometime slay,
Their store of sables, furies, and
pealts,
Fetcht thence from farre away.*²

H

And if any Merchants come unto them, then *they kill one of their children* for their sakes to feast them withall. . . . *They eate them of their own country.* . . . Their merchandize are *sables*, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call *Pselts*).³

Burrough is then spoken of,

As master in that ship with him
That first did Russia finde.⁴

Their respective rôles are thus given in Hakluyt: "Richard Chancellor Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure and Pilot generall of the fleete . . . Stephen Burrough Master of the Edward Bonaventure."⁵ The two names are brought immediately together in Hugh Willoughby's note: "Richard Chancellor, Captaine and Pilot major of the fleete. Stephen Borowgh, Master of the ship."⁶

Pet and Jackman are then introduced:

And in this northeast *trade*, with praise,
Do *Pet and Jackman* mind.⁷

Compare, "Commission given . . . for discovery of new *trades* unto *Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman*."⁸

Warner then passes on to Jenkinson:

But where shall we
Begin his lawdes to tell?
In Europe, Asia, Affrick? for
These all he saw.⁹

Under "The names of such countries as I, Anthony Jenkinson have traveled unto,"¹⁰ the voyager explicitly mentions having traveled in all three continents.

Now, under his conduct, was hence
Unto his home conveide
The Russian first ambassador
Heere *honor'd*, whilst he staide.¹¹

¹ *Ibid.*, III, 405.

² P. 638.

³ P.N., II, 483-84.

⁴ P. 639.

⁵ P.N., II, 206.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁷ P. 639.

⁸ P.N., III, 251.

⁹ P. 639.

¹⁰ P.N., III, 195.

¹¹ P. 639.

This circumstance is narrated by Jenkinson himself under title of "Osep Napea's Return Home."¹ With the last line compare this marginal notation: "His *honorable* receiving into the citie of London."²

Nor captaine Jenkinson was there
Lesse graced, where he wrought,
That all things to a wished end
Were for our traffique brought.
Heere-hence also a friendly league
Twixt either prince effected.³

Jenkinson's reception is described on page 173 of Volume III. While his success in the mission is evinced by a list of requests submitted to the Emperor,⁴ and the latter's concessions,⁵ in every respect satisfactory to the Englishmen.

From Mosco then by journies long
The Caspian Sea he crost.⁶

Compare the marginal note, "They enter into *the Caspian Sea*."⁷

Himselfe and goods by Tartars oft
In danger to be lost.⁸

One incident of being attacked and robbed by Tartar thieves is recounted by Jenkinson, pages 466-68; another, on page 458.

W

Their hordes of carted tents like towns
Which camels drew.⁹

By names of *murses*,¹¹ soltans, *cans*,
To whom for passe he brings
The Russian King his letters.¹²

H

Wee sawe a great heard of Nagay-
ans pasturing . . . above a thou-
sand *Camels drawing of cartes* with
houses upon them like *tents* . . .
seeming to bee a farre off a *towne*:
that *Hord* was belonging to a great
Murse.¹⁰

Wee . . . arrived at a castle
. . . where ye king called Azim
*Can*¹³ remained . . . to whom I
delivered *the Emperor's Letters of*
Russia.¹⁴

¹ *P.N.*, II, 425 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 180-86.

⁷ *P.N.*, II, 456.

² *P.N.*, II, 355.

⁵ *P.N.*, III, 189-92.

⁸ *P.* 639.

³ *P.* 639.

⁶ *P.* 639.

⁹ *P.* 639.

¹⁰ *P.N.*, II, 454.

¹¹ The title *murse*, besides being used in the foregoing passage, is explained on page 452: "Every Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse."

¹² *P.* 639.

¹³ It is noteworthy that this word *Can*, with its infinite variety of spellings, should be spelled alike by Warner and Hakluyt.

¹⁴ *P.N.*, II, 461.

W

*With wild-horse flesh and mare's
milke, him*
The kings did banquet tho,
Their hawking for the *wild-horse*, (for
Their *hawks will seaze upon*
The horse's neck, who chaffing tiers,
And so is *kild* anon).²

Their oft *removes* for pastures fresh,
(*Nor grasse* their pasture is,
But *heathie brush*, few *cattell*⁴ though
Doe thrive as theirs with this).⁵

Their *naither use of coyne*, or *corne*,⁷
(For *tillage none* is theare)

Such warriors, and *horse-archers*, as
They live not whom they feare,
Their *crosse-leg eating on the ground*,

Pluralitie of wives,
In *Turkeman* (so the whole is sayd)
And more of their *rude lives*,

H

[The Emperor] caused me to eate in
his presence feasting me *with
flesh of a wilde horse and mares milk*.¹

There are many *wild horses* which
the Tartars doe many times *kil* with
their *hawkes*. . . . The *hawkes* are
lured to *seaze upon the beasts neckes*
or heads, which with *chafing* of
themselves *are tired*: then
the hunter following his game doeth
slay the horse.³

The people live without towne or
habitation in the *wilde fields*, *remov-*
ing from one place to another
with their *cattel*. . . . In all this
lande there groweth *no grasse*, but a
certaine *brush or heath*, whereon the *cat-*
*tell*⁴ feeding become very fat. . . .⁶

These people have not the *use of*
golde, silver, or any other *coyne*.
. . . . *Bread* they have none, for
they *neither till* nor sow.⁸

They are good *archers* both *on*
horse-backe and on foote also. . . .
They *eate* their meate *upon the*
ground, sitting with their *legs double*
under them.⁹

All the land is called the
land of *Turkeman*. . . . *Every Can*
or *Sultan hath at the least 4 or 5 wives*
. . . . living most viciously: and
when there are warres betwixt these
brethren he that is overcome
. . . . *flieth* and *robbeth*
. . . . as many *Caravans of Mar-*
chants as they be able to
overcome, continuing in this sort
his *wicked life*.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

² P. 639.

³ P.N., II, 464.

⁷ The substitution of *corne* for *bread* is of interest, in light of the former's generic sense.

⁸ P.N., II, 464.

⁴ Similarity of spelling is again noticeable.

⁵ P. 639.

⁶ P.N., II, 463-64.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ P.N., II, 463.

W

And how the *marchants travailing*
By caravan, that is,
Great droves of laden camels, meate
And water often mis,

And how for us did Jenkinson
 In *Bactra* mart begin,
 Let *passe*, to *passe* to it for us
 He did in *Persia* win.¹

The story of Jenkinson's trading is told on page 474. With Warner's last two lines, compare the marginal notation, "Request to *passe into Persia* through *Moscovie*."⁴

W

With this memento, in returne
 From *Bactra*, divers kings
Sent in his charge their legates, whom
 To *Mosco* safe he *brings*.

Thence did he sayle for England,
 hence
 For *Mosco* back againe,
 And with our *queene Elizabeth*
Her letters, did obtaine
 The Mosick's letters to the kings,
 By whom he then should *pas*
 For *Persian traffique*: and for this
 He thence imbarked was.⁷

H

There *travaile* few people
 in that Countrey, but *in companie of*
Caravan, where *there be many camels*.²

We then as before were *in neede of*
water, and of other victuals, being
 forced to kill our horses and camels
 to eate.³

So upon the 23 day of December
 wee arrived at the citie of Boghar
 in the lande of *Bactria*.³

H

There were in my company, and
committed to my charge, two ambassa-
 dors, the one from the king of
 Boghar, the other from the king
 of Balke, and were *sent* unto the
 Emperor of Russia.⁵

The second of September we
 arrived at the citie of *Mosco*. . . .
 I *brought* before him [Emperor] all the
 Ambassadors that were *committed to*
my charge.⁶

I therewith departed toward the
 city of *Mosco* I de-
 clared the cause of my comming, signi-
 fied by the *Queenes Majesties letters*.
 He [Osep Napea] declared
 that the Emperours pleasure was
 that I should not onely *passe* thorow
 his dominions *into Persia*, but also
 have his Graces letters of commenda-
 tions to forren princes. . . . I
 departed from the city of *Mosco* the
 27 day of April 1562, downe by the
 great river of *Volga*.⁸

¹ P. 639.³ *Ibid.*, p. 469.⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 475.⁷ P. 639.² *P.N.*, II, 465.⁴ *P.N.*, III, 17.⁶ *P.N.*, II, 478.⁸ *P.N.*, III, 15-18.

Warner's powers of condensation are well illustrated by the foregoing passage.

W

Now in *Hyrkana, Shyrvan*,
Or *Media*, all as one,
Suppose our *Jenkinson* before
King Obdowcan's throne.
Though sumptuous cities he possest,
Yeat for the summer's heate,
On airesome mountaines held he then
His court, in pleasures greate.
Of *silke and gold imbroyderie*
His tents, his robes inchact
With *pearles and pretious stones*, and
looks
Of maiestie him grac't:
On *carpets rich* they trode, *rich*
traines
On him attendance gave,
With *size score concubines*, that
seem'd
So many queens for brave.
Before his faire *pavilion* was
Of *water cleere a fount*,
Drinke for himselfe and his for most
Of *water* they account).¹

H

I came to a city called *Shamaky*,
in the said cuntry of *Hircan*, other-
wise called *Shirvan*. . . . I was sent
for to come to the king, named
Obdowcan, who kept his court at
that time in the high mountains in
tents to avoyd the injury of
the heat: This king did sit in
a very rich *pavilion* wrought with
silke and golde, placed very pleasantly
upon a hillside, having before
him a *goodly fountaine of faire water*;
whereof he and his nobility did
drink, he being richly ap-
parelled with long garments of
silke and cloth of gold, imbrodred
with *pearles and stone*: and on
the left side of his *tolipane* stood a
plume of feathers, set in a trunke
of *golde richly inameled*, and set
with *precious stones*: all the
ground within his pavilion was
covered with *rich carpets*.²

(For his [king's] maner is that
watching in the night, and then
banketting with his women,³ being
an hundred and forty in number, he
sleepeth most in the day).⁴

This is, perhaps, the passage which best illustrates Warner's use of his material. It shows his capacity for swift transition, pointed résumé of incident which to him seems non-essential, and lavish use of other incident. He has *Jenkinson* before the king in the wink of an eye, whereas *Hakluyt* expends several pages. But the details of gorgeous furniture impress him, and he helps himself freely to the rich trappings. There is, in fact, scarcely any picturesque detail which he omits. The echo of words in his mind is also obvious.

¹ P. 639.

³ In the margin, "Multitude of concubines."

² P.N., III, 21.

⁴ P.N., III, 23.

It is the king's garments which are "imbrodred"; but Warner transfers the word to describe the royal tent, "of silke and gold *imbroyderie*." The fountain is "goodly" and the water "faire"; but Warner makes the fountain "faire" and the water "cleere." The very shifting of the fountain from its position *in mediis rebus* to the end is significant. Its logical place, and its place in Hakluyt, was just after the first mention of the pavilion; it therefore seems as though the poet had reviewed the description, found that he had overlooked a picturesque detail, and had included it at the end.

There are other slight but significant changes. The king's garments were embroidered with "pearles and stone"; but "the stone" becomes "pretious stones," used in another connection by Jenkinson six lines farther on. "Placed very *pleasantly* upon a hillside" may have suggested "in *pleasures* greate" since the two occur in exactly parallel contexts. It is amusing to note that Abd'ulloh Khan is deprived of twenty of his concubines because "seven score" would not suit the metre. Alliteration may have determined Warner in favor of *six* where one might expect *eight*.

In a passage like the above Warner's supplementations are few indeed. Barring a few such lines as "looks of Maiestie him gract"¹ and "So many queenes for brave," he is merely the accurate transcriber.

The next four lines describe in very general terms Jenkinson's dinner with the king, an account of which is given in Hakluyt, III, 23. Then,

In formall *hawking*, hunting, chace,
Not then came Tristram neere.²

Compare, "The king . . . did give one commandment that I should ride on *hawking* with many gentlemen of his court."³

W

He of the Persian *sophie* held
His land, *subdued late*.⁴

H

The king is subject to the sayd
Sophie . . . who conquered them
not many years past.⁵

¹ Even this may have been suggested by the marginal note: "*Majesty and attire of King Obdolowcan*" (p. 21).

² P. 639.

³ P.N., III, 23.

⁴ P. 639.

⁵ P.N., III, 24.

W

Him often questioned this king,
Of us and Europe's strength,

And him, with gifts and privilege,
For mart *dismissed* at length.

*Silks, raw, and wrought, spices and
drugs,*
And *more-els* worth the mart,
Our marchants fetch from thence.³

With men for his defence,
And letters from that king unto
The shaugh, he travel'd thence.

In travell thitherwards he grieves,
In wonder, to behold
The *down-fals* of those statly towns
And *castles, which of old,*
Whilst Persia held the monarchie,
Were famous over all.
Nor *Alexander* wonne of those
One peece, with labour small.⁶

The second of the two cities mentioned in the next lines gives trouble:

The mightie citties Tauris, and
Persipolis, he past.⁸

Hakluyt calls attention in the margin to "the city Tebris or Tauris," and Jenkinson speaks of it as "the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia."⁹

H

Then he proponed unto me sundry
questions, both touching religion
and also the state of our countreys,
and further questioned whether the
Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of
Russia, or the Great Turke were of
most power.¹

Who *dismissing* me with great
favour gave me at my departure
a faire horse with all furniture,
and custome free from thence with
all my goods.²

There be also necessary
commodities in this sayd
realm: viz. *raw silke*
besides, neere all kinde of *spices and
drugges*, and *some other commodities*.⁴

I required his highnesse safeconduct
for to depart towards the
Sophy, who appointing his
Ambassadour and others to
safeconduct me, he gave etc.⁵

There was an *olde castle* called
Gullistone, now *beaten downe* by this
Sophy, which was esteemed to be
one of the strongest castles in the
world, and was besieged by *Alexander*
the Great long time before he could
win it.⁷

¹ P.N., III, 22.

⁴ P.N., III, 24.

⁷ P.N., III, 25.

² P.N., III, 23.

⁵ P.N., III, 23.

⁸ P. 640.

³ P. 640.

⁶ P. 640.

⁹ P.N., III, 26.

Persipolis is not so easy to identify. Jenkinson mentions passing only one other city between Shamaki and Casbin, and that is Ardouil, which Warner obviously could not have meant. What he thought of, without much doubt, was the ancient city of Persepolis, now Shiraz. But how does he happen to use it here? The circumstance with which he associates it,

Two ruined gates, sundred twelve miles,
Yet extant of this last,¹

does not occur in Hakluyt in connection with Jenkinson's journey from Shamaki to Casbin. But something similar is recorded on the previous page² about the same man's voyage from Astracan to Shabran:

The city of Derbent is an ancient towne having an olde castle therein, being situated upon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by *king Alexander the Great*, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a *wall of a wonderfull height and thiknesse*, extending from the same citie to the Georgians, yea unto the principall citie thereof named *Tewflish*, which wall though it be now rased or otherwise decayed, *yet the foundation remaineth*, and the walle was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said *Alexander* should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily invade.³

It will be noticed that there is no specific reference to "two ruined gates, sundred twelve miles." But there is a wall of great length extending between two cities. And it is "yet extant" or "yet the foundation remaineth."

How "Tewflish" becomes "Persipolis" is another matter. Hakluyt helps to bring the two closer by writing "Or Tiphlis" in the margin. And in the 1589 edition, not only are the two words printed close together, but the old character *O* resembles a *P*. With the *r* of *or* we then have a word resembling *Persepolis*. It is noteworthy that Warner spells it with an *i*, "Persipolis."

A conjecture may be advanced as to how the two circumstances got confused in the poet's mind. The missing link is Alexander. For in the previous instance he had besieged "an olde castle" "long time before he could win it"; and in this instance he built of "an

¹ P. 640.

² 1589 ed., p. 367.

³ P.N., III, 20.

olde castle" "the walles very high and thicke." It is little wonder that, given two so similar descriptions, Warner should have confounded them.¹

Having introduced this extraneous detail, the poet reverts at once to the very passage in Hakluyt he had been consulting:

W

The *gyant's* wonders on the *hill*
Of *Quiquiffs* heard he tolde.²

And of the *yearely* obit, which
Their *maides* to *Channa* hold.
This was indeed a wonder, for
This virgin so was bent
To *chastitie* that by selfe-death,
She marriage did prevent.⁴

Whilst Jenkinson
Rests at his jornie's end,
With *Obdolowcan's sonne*, that on
The *sophie* did attend.⁶

At *Casben* hild the *shawgh* his court,
Who *thirty yeares and odd*,
Had not been seene abroad, thereof
By *prophesie* forbodd.

H

Also in the sayd cuntry there is
an high *hill* called *Quiquiffs*, upon
the toppe whereof (*as it is commonly*
reported) did dwell a great *Giant*,
named *Arneoste*, having upon his
head two great hornes, and eares
and eyes like a Horse, and a taile
like a Cowe.³

And not farre from the sayd castle
was a Nunry of sumptuous building,
wherein was buried a kings daughter,
named *Ameleck Channa*, who slew
herselfe with a knife for that her
father would have forced her (she
professing *chastity*) to have married
with a king of Tartarie: upon which
occasion the *maidens* of that cuntry
do resort thither *once every yere* to
lament her death.⁵

We arrived at the foresayd citie
of *Casbin*, where the sayd *Sophie*
keepeth his court, . . . and within
two dayes after the *Sophie* com-
manded a prince called *Shalli*
Murzey, sonne to Obdolowcan . . . to
send for me to his house, who . . .
invited me to dinner.⁷

The king of Persia . . . is called
the *Shawgh*. . . . He lieth at a
towne called *Casbin*. . . . The
king hath not come out of the com-

¹ Persepolis would not, of course, lie en route between Shamaki and Casbin. See Jenkinson's Map of Russia, *P.N.*, III, back. But Warner was as oblivious of geography as was his rival and friend, Drayton.

² *P.* 640.

⁴ *P.* 640.

⁶ *P.* 640.

³ *P.N.*, III, 25.

⁵ *P.N.*, III, 25.

⁷ *P.N.*, III, 27.

W

Like Maiestie he kept, as those
 Great monarchs did before
 The Macedons subdued them,
 Of *wives* he had like store,
 Besides most bewtious *concubines*,
Not lesse than fifteen score;
 And *yearely* of the fairest maides,
 And *wives* doth make new choyce:
 When much the friends and *husbands*
 of
 Those chosen doe *rejoice*.
 Him blesseth he to whome doth he
One of his relicts give:
 Yeat Persian shaughs esteeme them-
 selves
 The holiest kings that live.
 For when a *Christian* (whom they call
 An infidel because
 He not beleeves in *Mahomet*,
 Nor *Mortezalies* lawes)
 Is called to audience, least the same
 Prophaine wheare he doth stand,
 Must doffe his shoes, and to and fro
*Treade on new-sifted sand.*¹

H

passee of his owne house in *33 or 34*
yeeres, whereof the cause is not
 knowne, but as they say it is upon a
 superstition of certaine *prophecies*
 to which they are greatly addicted.
 He hath *4 wives* alwayes, and
about 300 concubines, and *once in*
the yeere he hath all the faire maidens
 and *wives* that may be found a great
 way about brought unto him, whom
 he diligently peruseth taking
 such as he liketh. . . . And if he
 chance to take any man's wife, her
husband is very glad thereof, and
 in recompense of her, oftentimes he
giveth the husband one of his old store,
 whom he thankfully receiveth.

If any stranger being a *Christian*
 shall come before him, he must put
 on a new paire of shooes made in that
 countrey, and from the place where
 he entreth, there is digged as it were
 a causey all the way until he come
 to the place where he shal talke with
 the king : and when the
 stranger is departed, then is the
 causey cast downe, and the ground
 made even againe.²

It will be noticed that in the foregoing passage Warner follows closely Geffrey Ducket's observations as printed in Hakluyt³ until he comes to the last eight lines. Ducket is silent about the Christians being considered infidels; and, though he mentions a causeway dug as an approach for the Christian, says nothing specifically about "new-sifted sand." But Warner did not invent those details. He derived them, after his usual procedure, from a different account of like circumstances. The connection this time was through Mahomet and Mortezali, whom Ducket alludes to on the very page on which he describes the Christian's reception. This gave Warner his chance for a cross-reference to a passage which definitely refers to infidels,

¹ Chap. lxix, p. 641.² P. N., III, 158-59.³ P. N., III, 158-66.

and to "new-sifted sand" as well. Fifty-two pages earlier,¹ on the page following the story of Jenkinson's reception by Obdolowcan's son, a story which the poet used, Jenkinson has this:

Before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes . . . were put upon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be suffred to tread upon his holy ground, being a *Christian* and called amongst them Gower, that is unbeleever, and uncleane; esteeming all to be *infidels* and Pagans which do not beleeve as they do, in *their false, filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli*.²

And, near the bottom of the following page, he concludes:

I being glad thereof did reverence and went my way, . . . and after me followed a man with a Basanet of *sand*, *sifting* all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, even from the said Sophies sight unto the court gate.³

The incident of doffing shoes and the mention of Mortezali in Duckett's story must have recalled to Warner the similar incident in connection with Jenkinson. He turns back to the latter, and engrafts the further details of Mortezali and the sifted sand.

Our soveraigne's letters to the shaugh
So Jenkinson presents,
Who, being askt his arrant, said,
"Those letters like contents."⁴

With the first two lines compare, "I delivered the Queens Majesties letters with my present."⁵ The noun *present* may have evoked the verb *presents*. With the last two lines compare, "Hee . . . demanded of me . . . what affairs I had there to doe? Unto whom I answered," etc.⁶ "Those letters like contents" is a neat summary of ten lines in Hakluyt, which explain fully the nature of Jenkinson's "arrant."

The tendency, noticeable in the last-quoted stanza, to summarize and generalize increases from this point to the end of the chapter. Warner is obviously growing a little weary of his task.

¹ 1589 ed., Jenkinson, p. 370; Duckett, p. 422. It is noteworthy that in the later account the name is spelled *Mortus Ali* while it is spelled by Jenkinson, *Murtezalli*. Warner gives *Mortezalie*.

² *P.N.*, III, 29.

⁴ *P.* 641.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁵ *P.N.*, III, 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

W

But new-made *peace* with *Turkie* him
Of new-sought trade prevents.
The Turkish marchants, fearing least
Their traffique might decrease,
Had, by that basha, mard his mart
That then had made that peace.¹

The shaugh did also question his
Beleeve, and quarrell it:
So, well appaid is Jenkinson,
If safe away he git,

Whome, *with our letters to the Turke*,
The shaugh to send was bent,
Had not the *Hircane Murzey posts*
Unto his father sent.⁴

H

For the *Turks* Ambassador being
arrived and the *peace* concluded, *the*
Turkish merchants declared
to the same Ambassadour that my
coming thither . . . would in great
part *destroy their trade*, and that it
should be good for him to persuade
the Sophie not to favor me,
which request of the Turkish mer-
chants the same Ambassadour
earnestly preferred, and being after-
wards dismissed with great honour,
he departed out of the Realme.²

Then he reasoned with mee much
of Religion, demaunding whether I
were a Gower, that is to say, an
unbeleever. Unto whom I
answered that I was a Chris-
tian. Does thou beleeve so,
said the Sophie unto me? Yea, that
I do, said I: Oh thou unbeleever,
said he, we have no neede to have
friendship with the unbeleeveres,
and so willed me to depart.³

[The Sophy's nobility] persuaded
that he should not entertaine me
wel and that it was best for
him to send me *with my letters unto*
the said great Turke for a present,
which he was fully determined to
have done. But the king
of *Hircanes sonne* aforesaide, under-
standing this deliberation, *sent a*
man in post unto his father.⁵

And Obdolowcan's letters then
Disswaded that intent.⁶

¹ P. 641.⁴ P. 641.² P.N., III, 29.⁵ P.N., III, 31-32.³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.⁶ P. 641.

The foregoing lines summarize page 32 in Hakluyt.

When, with a present for himselfe,
He thence to Hyrcan went,
And theare did him the heart-trew king
Most kindly intertayne,
And thence *dismis*se with gifts, when he
No longer would remayne:
Nor onely his ambassadors
Unto his care commends,
But moment of that ambassie
Which he to Mosco sends.¹

The foregoing lines summarize a passage in Hakluyt, pages 32 and 33, beginning "the thirtieth day" and ending "committed the chiefest secret of his affaires unto mee." In two cases words were suggested to Warner: "he *intreated* mee very gently," and "so *dismissed* me with great favour."

There now suppose them well ariv'd,
And bringing gratefull newes
Of waightie messages, whearein
The Mosick did him use.²

With the foregoing lines compare a passage in Hakluyt, page 37, beginning "Shortly after my comming to Moscow," and ending "he was minded to employ mee."

Convenient time he nerethelesse,
For Persian trade attends,

are lines which summarize, "A copie of the priviledges given by Obdolowcan, King of Hircania, to the company of English merchants."³ While the rest of the stanza,

Which Arthur Edwards, thither sent,
Successfully theare ends,

reflects, "The thirde voyage into Persia . . . by Richard Johnson, Alexander Kitchin and Arthur Edwards,"⁴ as well as the letters of Edward's which follow⁵ and describe Persian commodities.

Warner next pauses to praise the work of Hakluyt, to laud again achievements of the northern voyagers, and finally to mention

¹ P. 641.

² *Ibid.*

³ *P.N.*, III, 39-40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-67.

with pride his father, himself a voyager. Then he reverts to Jenkinson:

And here, from out those churlish seas,
To London, there an aged man,
To tell this youthfull taile:
How he had past all Europe, seene
All Levant Islands, and
Greece, Turkey, Affrick, India, Sur,
Aegypt, the holie land,

Rest may thy honorable boanes,
Good *old-man*, in sweet peace.¹

For his summary Warner has used Jenkinson's own,² in which all the countries mentioned are listed, and in almost the same order. Jenkinson's last words are: "And thus being weary and growing *old*, I am content to take my *rest* in mine owne house."

The following stanza has a covert allusion to Drake:

But late had we a fowle like rare,
Us'd oftner sea than shore,
Ofte swam he into golden strands,
But now will so no more.³

Drake had perished January 28, 1596, on the ill-fated voyage with Hawkins. The fourth edition of *Albions England*, containing Book XI (in which the foregoing passage occurs), appeared in that very year.

Of "other later voyages" with which Warner concerns himself in chapter lxxi of the next book (XII), it is significant to note that Macham is the first selected. For he is made similarly conspicuous by Hakluyt in being placed first of the more modern voyagers whose exploits were told in English.

W

Like amorous scape from England as
Of Elenor to Rome,
Made *Macham* in *Madera* reare
His hence-*stolne* lover's toome,
Then raigned here third Edward,
when
So traveled Mandevil,

H

The island of *Madera* . . . was discovered by an Englishman, which was named *Macham*, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had *stollen*, arrived by tempest in that Island, and did cast anker in that haven or bay

¹ P. 642.

² P. N., III, 195-96.

³ P. 642.

W

And in those days th'interring there
Of Macham's love befell.

*A chappell built he there, his name
And hers ingraven in stone,
To Jesus dedicated (then,
And England, there unknowne.)
Of him this island's porte is cal'd
Machico to this day,
Whom Affrick Mores to Castile, as
A wonder, did convey:
For in an hallowed tree or trough,
Not having sayle or oares,
(The shippe they came in leaving him)
Discovered he the Mores.¹*

H

which now is called *Machico* after the name of *Macham*. And because his lover was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loved her dearly, *built a chapell* or hermitage to bury her in, calling it by the name of *Jesus*, and caused *his name and hers* to be written or *graven upon the stone* of her tombe. . . . And afterwards he ordained a boat made of one tree . . . and went to sea in it . . . and came upon the coast of *Africke*, without saile or oare. And the *Moores* which saw it tooke it to be a *marvelous thing*, and presented him unto the king of that countrey for a *wonder*, and that king also sent him and his companions for a *miracle* unto the king of *Castile*.²

The juxtaposing of these two passages well illustrates the curious jumbling process to which Warner often subjected his material. Details get included somehow, often as if by afterthought. "The shippe they came in leaving him" is a case in point, though here the new place is not illogical. Hakluyt's "marvelous thing," "wonder," and "miracle" are epitomized into "wonder." The passage also reproduces something of the voyager's terse, pithy directness.³

W

By which *discovery*, and by his
Instructions, did ensew,
Th' Iberians did Madera and
Canaries-isles subdew.⁴

H

In the yeere 1395 . . . the information which Macham gave of this Iland . . . mooved many of France and Castile to go and *discover*

¹ P. 643.

² P.N., VI, 119-20.

³ This is the very quality in which Drayton, who reproduced the same story from the same source, was lacking. See "Poly-olbion," Song XIX. The divergencies of treatment form the basis for an interesting comparative study of these two contemporary poets.

⁴ P. 643.

W

H

it, and also the great Canaria. . . .
 One Monsieur Ruben demanding the conquest of the *Ilands of the Canaries* departed from Sivil with a good army.¹

Hence (els had Macham past our penne)
 Did time effect our trade
 For *Guinie*, in her highnes' raigne
 Acquir'd, and patent made.²

On the page³ facing the story of Macham, Hakluyt prints:

The Ambassage which king John the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth, King of England, which in part was to stay one John Tintam and one William Fabian Englishmen from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for *Ginne*.⁴

And on the next page but one⁵ begin the various voyages in quest of Guinea trade.

W

H

To wit (although *an alien*) good
Pinteado, abus'd
 By moodie *Windham*, *Guinie first*,
 And *Benyn* these perused.⁶

The *first voiage to Guinea and Benin* having also two capitaines, the one *a stranger* called Anthonie Anes *Pinteado*, a wise, discreet, and sober man.⁷

Windham, not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reviling the sayd *Pinteado*, calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words.⁸

Next Gainsh, then Towrson, divers times,
 And theare my father dide:
 Since, rife that voyage, Brasile, and
 To Cape-verd isles beside.⁹

Mention of Gainsh may afford an instance of Warner's dependence on the margins. For Gainsh was but the master of a ship in the Second Voyage to Guinea,¹⁰ of which the captain was John Lok.

¹ *P.N.*, VI, 120.⁴ *P.N.*, VI, 123.⁷ *P.N.*, VI, 145.² *P.* 643.⁵ In 1589 ed., p. 83.⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 148.³ 1589, ed., p. 81.⁶ *P.* 643.⁹ *P.* 643.¹⁰ *P.N.*, VI, 154 ff.

He is, however, the first to be named in the margin: "Robert Gainsh was master of the John Evangelist."¹ It may also be that he held a prominent place in Warner's memory because he was practically the beginner of slave trade, a rôle in which Hakluyt later refers to him.²

Warner's next hero is Towerson, the account of whose important voyages is printed in Hakluyt, VI, 177-252. "Cape-verd isles" is a covert allusion to George Fenner. Compare, "The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the *Islands of Cape Verde*."³ While "Brasile" may allude to the common slave-trading practice of putting into Guinea to capture slaves, which were sold at fabulous profits in America.

The single detail in the stanza about which Hakluyt is silent is the death of Warner's father, a touching *in memoriam* by the poet, who had once before expressed pride in his parent's achievements.⁴

The following is Warner's list of products of the Cape Verde Islands:

Gold, civet, muske, graines, pepper, woad,
And ivory.⁵

This list is nearly duplicated by Hakluyt: "Civet, muske, gold and grains, the commodities of Cape Verde."⁶ The other products may be found elsewhere in accounts of Cape Verde and Africa. Ivory in particular is often mentioned.⁷

In Barbarie, old Mauritaine,
Like trade this raigne hath wrought.⁸

The above was doubtless suggested to Warner by a sentence in Richard Eden's "Description of Affrike," printed as a preface to the Guinea voyages: "*Mauritania (now called Barbaria)* is divided into two partes."⁹

From this point it is dangerous to attempt to track the poet step by step. For he has come down to events almost contemporary; and furthermore, he seems in a hurry to let the curtain fall. His allusions are, in consequence, general. He pays tribute once more

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴ Chap. lxi, p. 642.

⁷ Cf. *P.N.*, VI, 163, 166, 184.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵ P. 644.

⁸ P. 644.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁶ *P.N.*, VI, 271, marg. note.

⁹ *P.N.*, VI, 143.

to Drake, the "world admired," and to "his brave breeder Hawkins."¹ Then, his eagerness to have done is exemplified in the following passage:

Adde Gilbert, Greenville, Frobisher,
 Adde Chilton, Oxnam, Fenton, Ward,
 Davis, an other Drake,
 With divers here not catalog'd,
 And for a chiefest take
 All-actions Candish.²

All these voyagers have prominent places in Hakluyt except Ward, whose chief claim to this niche seems to be that he wrote the story of Fenton's voyage.³

In the next stanza Warner lauds Francis Walsingham, the man to whom Hakluyt dedicated the first edition of his *magnum opus*, and who had the project of the northwest passage to India particularly under his wing.⁴

The poet has now recorded exploits of voyagers included in two parts of the *Principall Navigations*. Of voyages to the South and Southeast, of which the other part consists, he has had little to say. And he decides to pass them over:

Of these, *East-Indian Goa*, south,
 And south-east people moe,
 And of their memorable names
Those toyles did undergoe,
 In one elaborated pen
 Compendiously doth floe.
 Omitted then, and named men,
 And lands (not here, indeede,
 So written of as they deserve)
 At large in Hakluyt reede.⁵

The stanzas prove, however, that he had some acquaintance with the portion of his source which he chose to omit. The first line doubtless refers to the voyage of Ralph Fitch "by way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to *Goa in the East India*."⁶ And it was from

¹ P. 644.³ P.N., XI, 172-202.⁵ P. 644.² *Ibid.*⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 440.⁶ P.N., V, 465.

this city of Goa that John Newberry wrote his tale of woe, to which the poet is perhaps alluding in "those toyles." This is Newberry's eloquent summary:

It were long for me to write and tedious for you to read of all things that have passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that have chanced since mine arrivall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you.¹

Warner's lines in praise of Hakluyt conclude his story of the voyagers. His procedure throughout has been made tolerably clear. It is obvious that, prompted by patriotism, he determined to record the feats of great sea-farers, whose tales he then read in that acknowledged authority, *Principall Navigations*. Having studied several accounts bearing on the same subject, he collated them, and enhanced the interest of his story by transplanting an impressive detail, a Maelstrom or a five-foot beard, which seemed, and often was, indigenous to its new place. In this collating, Hakluyt's crude index and marginal notes were helpful.

The closeness, amounting at times to servility, with which Warner follows his source is no proof that his knowledge of the voyagers was extensive. We can only conclude that he had read carefully, and for the occasion, the stories of Chancelor, Burrough, Jenkinson, and Macham. Outside the four chapters, there are no significant allusions to such stuff as the voyagers' tales were made of.

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¹ *Ibid.*, p. 462.